

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BRASIL 01661 031453Z

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-08 SP-02 USIA-06 AID-05 EB-08 NSC-05

TRSE-00 SS-15 STR-04 OMB-01 CEA-01 CIAE-00 COME-00

FRB-03 INR-07 NSAE-00 XMB-02 OPIC-03 LAB-04 SIL-01

DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 L-03 PA-01 PRS-01 /096 W

-----040046Z 003486 /70

R 031330Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 350

INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS

AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN

AMEMBASSY PARAMARIBO

C O N F I D E N T I A L BRASILIA 1661

EO 11652 GDS

TAGS PFOR BR GY

SUBJECT: BRAZILIAN VIEWS ON GUYANA

REFS: (A) STATE 030031 (NOTAL) (B) BRASILIA 0943 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: IN REVIEW OF BRAZIL-GUYANA RELATIONS, FOREIGN
MINISTRY OFFICIAL INTERPRETED GUYANA'S EFFORTS TO TIGHTEN
TIES WITH CUBA AND OTHER COMMUNIST STATES CHIEFLY AS FUNCTION
OF GUYANA'S INTERNAL POLITICAL RIVALRIES. HE SAID BRAZIL WAS
DETERMINED TO RESIST THE TENDENCY TO BE DRAWN INTO
GUYANA'S INTERNAL POLITICS AND SOUGHT NOT TO
REACT TO GUYANA ACCUSATIONS OR PROVOCATIONS. HE CONCLUDED
THAT GUYANA, WITH PRESENT LIMITED CUBAN PRESENCE, WAS NO
THREAT TO BRAZIL AND THAT THERE WERE RESTRAINTS ON HOW FAR
GUYANA WOULD BE WILLING TO CARRY ITS INVOLVEMENT WITH CUBA.
END SUMMARY.

1. IN DISCUSSION OF BRAZIL-GUYANA RELATIONS WITH POL COUNSELOR,
DEPUTY CHIEF OF FOREIGN MINISTRY'S DEPARTMENT
OF THE AMERICAS (MACDOWELL), AFFIRMED THAT BRAZIL'S BASIC OBJECTIVE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BRASIL 01661 031453Z

IN GUYANA IS TO AVOID BECOMING AN UNWITTING PARTICIPANT IN GUYANA'S
INTERNAL POLITICAL AFFAIRS. AS MACDOWELL SEES IT, GUYANA'S
FOREIGN POLICY, INCLUDING ITS CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH CUBANS AS
WELL AS ITS COURTSHIP OF THE USSR, ARE ESSENTIALLY FUNCTIONS OF
THE INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION, WITH BURNHAM GOVERNMENT MANEUVERING
TO PROTECT ITSELF AGAINST JAGAN FORCES. BRAZIL OF COURSE IS A USEFUL
AND TEMPTING OBJECT FOR THE ACTORS IN GUYANESE DOMESTIC POLITICS.

SO BRAZIL MUST THEREFORE AVOID PLAYING INTO THE HANDS OF THOSE ACTORS, SPECIFICALLY ABSTAINING FROM REACTING TO PROVOCATIVE STATEMENTS OR ACCUSATIONS BY BURNHAM AND HIS ASSOCIATES. IN THIS RESPECT MACDOWELL NOTED THAT BRAZIL DID NOT REACT TO WILLS' ALLEGATIONS IN THE JANUARY 13 EDITION OF THE TRINIDAD EXPRESS OF BRAZILIAN EFFORTS TO DESTABILIZE GUYANA. HE STATED THAT SUBSEQUENTLY WILLS VOLUNTEERED TO THE BRAZILIANS THAT THE TRINIDAD EXPRESS HAD ERRONEOUSLY REPORTED HIS COMMENTS.

2. ASKED IF BRAZIL WAS CONCERNED THAT GUYANESE ACCUSATIONS COULD DAMAGE BRAZIL'S STANDING IN AFRICA OR ELSEWHERE IN THE THIRD WORLD, MACDOWELL COMMENTED THAT THEY DID NOT SEE THIS AS A SERIOUS PROSPECT AND IN ANY EVENT THE DAMAGE WOULD BE MINOR. BRAZIL WAS REALISTIC ABOUT ITS STANDING IN THOSE AREAS, ITS EXPOSURE AND INVESTMENT WERE NOWHERE NEAR THAT OF US, AND CRITICISMS OF THIS SORT COULD HAVE LITTLE SERIOUS EFFECT ON ITS BASIC AND VERY LIMITED INTEREST IN THOSE AREAS.

3. IN GENERAL TERMS, MACDOWELL DESCRIBED BRAZIL'S POLICY TOWARD GUYANA AS "REALISTIC." AS SUCH, HE EXPLAINED, THE POLICY RECOGNIZES THAT GUYANA IS A SMALL, BACKWARD COUNTRY THAT DOES NOT CONSTITUTE A POLITICAL OR MILITARY THREAT TO BRAZIL. AS HE SAW IT, THERE ARE NATURAL LIMITS TO HOW FAR THE GUYANESE WOULD BE WILLING TO GO IN TYING THEMSELVES TO CUBA OR THE SOVIETS FOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL REASONS. HE CONSIDERED GUYANA'S ENGLISH-SPEAKING, BRITISH-ORIENTED AND RESIDUAL CONSERVATIVE PRO-WESTERN POLITICAL VALUES TO BE A BRAKE AGAINST THE COUNTRY GOING TOO FAR IN INVOLVING ITSELF WITH CUBA OR IN ALLOWING CUBA

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BRASIL 01661 031453Z

TO USE ITS TERRITORY TO THREATEN OTHER STATES. HE CONSIDERED HYPOTHESIS OF A GUYANESE THREAT TO BRAZIL AS ABSURD, WITH A COMIB OPERA FLAVOR. HE SAW CUBAN PRESENCE AS CONSISTING OF A RELATIVELY SMALL NUMBER OF ADVISERS WHO CANNOT BE REGARDED AS CONSTITUTING A THREAT. HE CLAIMED THAT THE BRAZILIAN MILITARY ALSO ACCEPTS THIS ASSESSMENT OF THE CUBAN THREAT, THOUGH HE RECOGNIZED THAT IF SUBSEQUENT INTELLIGENCE REPORTS WERE TO CONFIRM A SIGNIFICANTLY LARGER CUBAN PRESENCE THAN NOW BELIEVED, THE BRAZILIAN MILITARY'S ATTITUDE WOULD PROBABLY CHANGE QUICKLY.

4. IN MACDOWELL'S VIEW, A MAJOR UPSETTING FACTOR FOR GUYANA INTERNALLY AND EXTERNALLY IS VENEZUELA, WHOSE CLAIMS MAKE THE GUYANESE FEEL VERY INSECURE. BRAZIL'S LONG-RANGE HOPE IS THAT GUYANA'S

PERCEPTION OF A VENEZUELAN THREAT TO ITS EXISTENCE CAN BE ATTENUATED. WITH ITS SENSE OF SECURITY ENHANCED, HE CONTINUED, GUYANA COULD THEN CALM DOWN INTERNALLY AND TAKE HER RIGHTFUL PLACE AS A RESPONSIBLE MEMBER OF THE LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNITY OF NATIONS.

5. DISCUSSING GUYANA'S CURRENT INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION,
MACDOWELL SAID THEY HAD REPORTS THAT BURNHAM
HAD HAD TWO HEART ATTACKS. HE CONSIDERED THE PROSPECTS OF HIS
FULL RESUMPTION OF POWER AT BEST UNCERTAIN. IN MACDOWELL'S
VIEW MOST LIKELY SUCCESSOR TO BURNHAM IS PTOLEMY REID, ADDING THAT
THOUGH THERE ARE ASSUMPTIONS THAT HE IS MORE MODERATE THAN BURNHAM,
GOB REALLY KNOWS VERY LITTLE ABOUT HIM AND IS UNABLE TO PREDICT
WITH ANY CONFIDENCE WHAT SORT OF POLICIES HE WOULD FOLLOW.
CRIMMINS

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 03-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BRASIL01661
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770074-0338
Format: TEL
From: BRASILIA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770398/aaaadinn.tel
Line Count: 126
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: c7b3d7be-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION ARA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 STATE 30031, 77 BRASILIA 943
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3223479
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BRAZILIAN VIEWS ON GUYANA
TAGS: PFOR, BR, GY
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/c7b3d7be-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009